

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 15788

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, UR
SUBJECT: ANDREY AMARLRIK

REF: STATE 257648

1. AMALRIK RETURNED TO MOSCOW FROM KALUGA APPROXIMATELY THREE WEEKS AGO. (HE IS ALLOWED FORMALLY TO RESIDE ONLY IN CITIES MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED KILIMETERS OUTSIDE OF MOSCOW AND CHOSE KALUGA AS BEING THE CLOSEST. HIS WIFE CONTINUES TO RESIDE OFFICIALLY HERE. SHE HAS AN APARTMENT.) AMALRIK RECEIVED PERMISSION TO STAY IN MOSCOW FOR ONE MONTH. SINCE HIS ARRIVAL HE HAS BEEN ACTIVELY SEEING FOREIGNERS -- DIPLOMATS AND NEWSMEN. HE ORGANIZED AND DRAFTED THE "COUNTER-DECLARATION IN FAVOR OF SAKHAROV." THE NYT ARTICLE (REFTTEL) WAS ALSO WRITTEN SINCE HIS RETURN. HE HAS DELIBERATELY ASSUMED A "HIGH PROFILE" HE TELLS US, BECAUSE HE FEELS THAT THE MORE EXPOSURE HE GETS, THE SAFER HE WILL BE. HE HAS BEGUN WORK ON HIS NEXT MAJOR PROJECT, A BOOK ON SOME PROBLEMS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY RUSSIAN HISTORY. HE NOTES THAT THIS IS IN THE OLD RUSSIAN TRADITION OF ADDRESSING CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN THE GUISE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

2. AMALRIK WAS CALLED IN TO THE KGB OCTOBER 30 AND INTERROGATED ABOUT HIS CURRENT ACTIVITIES FOR SOME EIGHT HOURS. HE WAS, SOMEWHAT TO HIS SURPRISE, RELEASED AT THE END OF THAT DAY, ALTHOUGH THE AUTHORITIES RETAINED HIS
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PASSPORT. ON THE 31ST, HE WAS AGAIN CALLED IN, THE INTERROGATION

CONTINUED, AND, AT ITS END, HIS PASSPORT WAS RETURNED TO HIM. HE FEELS THAT THIS "WARNING" AS HE PUTS IT, WAS RELATED MORE TO THE SAKHAROV PETITION THAN TO THE NYT ARTICLE. HE HAS, NEVERTHELESS, DECIDED TO ASSUME A LOWER PROFILE FOR THE NEXT WEEK BY MOVING TO A FRIEND'S APARTMENT. HE PLANS, NEVERTHELESS TO REQUEST AN EXTENSION OF HIS TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMIT.

3. AMALRIK IS ESPECIALLY PROUD OF HIS WORK ON THE SAKHAROV "COUNTER-DECLARATION." HE FEELS THAT THE LIST OF SIGNATORIES IS FAR MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE TEXT ITSELF, ON WHICH, HE TOLD US "THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER LANGUAGE WERE AS COMPLICATED AS THOSE OF THE HELSINKI "FINAL ACT." HE FEELS, AND WE AGREE, THAT THE MIXTURE OF SIGNATORIES: HIS OWN AND THOSE OF: ERNST NEIZVESTNIY, A SCULPTOR, VITALIY RUBIN, A JEWISH DISSIDENT REFUSENIK; VLADIMIR TURCHIN, A CIVIL RIGHTS DISSIDENT; ROY MEDVEDEV AND PETER GRIGORENKO AMONG OTHERS, BEARS WITNESS TO THE ABILITY OF DISSIDENTS OF ALL STRIPES TO COME TOGETHER ON AT LEAST THIS ISSUE. WE ALSO THINK THAT IT WILL MAKE SAKHAROV'S CHANCES OF RECEIVING PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE USSR TO RECEIVE HIS PRIZE STILL SMALLER.

4. AMALRIK FEELS THAT THE SHORT-TERM PERSPECTIVES FOR THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT ARE GRIM. HE ATTRIBUTES THIS TO PRE-CONGRESS RANK-CLOSING, TO THE KREMLIN'S INTENSE DISPLEASURE AT THE FACT THAT HELSINKI IS BEING USED AGAINST THE USSR, AND TO THE AWARD TO SAKHAROV OF THE PEACE PRIZE. HE FEELS THAT AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER THE RESULTS OF DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE CONGRESS HAVE BEEN DIGESTED, THERE WILL BE ONLY UNPLEASANT DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING DISSIDENTS OF ALL SORTS.

5. IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT, AMALRIK TOLD US THAT HE HAD APPLIED FOR PASSPORTS FOR HIM AND HIS WIFE TO TRAVEL ABROAD. HE HAS BEEN INVITED TO LECTURE AT UNIVERSITIES IN THE USA, NETHERLANDS AND SWITZERLAND, AND HIS WIFE HAS BEEN OFFERED A RESEARCH GRANT IN THE USA. AMALRIK HAS CONSISTENTLY REFUSED TO APPLY TO GO TO ISRAEL (THE AUTHORITIES HAVE OFFERED HIM THIS WAY OUT), BOTH BECAUSE NEITHER HE NOR HIS WIFE IS JEWISH, AND BECAUSE HE DOES NOT WISH TO LOSE HIS SOVIET CITIZENSHIP, WHICH IS AUTOMATIC FOR EMIGRANTS TO ISRAEL. HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT HIS APPLICATION WILL BE ACTED ON SOON; WE

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SENSE THAT HE IS TRYING TO OFFER THE AUTHORITIES A POSSIBLE SOLUTION THAT WOULD SAVE HIS FACE AND THEIRS SHOULD HE BECOME TOO OBSTREPEROUS. THIS SOLUTION MIGHT CONSIST OF AMALRIK'S RECEIVING PERMISSION FOR A "TEMPORARY" DEPARTURE WHICH WOULD IN FACT BE PERMANENT. THE CASE OF THE CELLIST ROSTROPOVICH MIGHT SERVE AS A PRECEDENT.

6. COMMENT. WE AGREE WITH AMARLIK'S GLOOMY ASSESSMENT OF

THE CURRENT STATE OF THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT WHAT AMALRIK REALLY SEEMS TO MEAN IS THAT THE SITUATION IS NOW RETURNING TO THE POSITION OF JUNE, BEFORE THE EVENTS LISTED ABOVE. AS A RESULT OF HELSINKI AND SAKHAROV'S NOBEL AWARD THERE WAS A BRIEF BUT GENERAL FEELING OF EUPHORIA AMONG THE DISSIDENTS, AND IT IS THE RETURN TO NORMALITY, WE THINK, THAT IS DISTRESSING AMALRIK. WE DO NOT FEEL THE SITUATION IS WORSENING IN COMPARISON TO WHAT IT WAS SIX MONTHS AGO.
MATLOCK

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